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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
AS RELATED TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

WITH A
REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL WORK OF THE NATIONAL
SOCIETY, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY
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HISTORIAN-GENERAL

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NATIONAL CONGRESS, S. A. R., AT LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE COMPLETED IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE*

The occasion of holding a National Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution under the auspices of an Exposition to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase is one of fruitful suggestion. It is, indeed, appropriate to unite these two celebrations, because the one represents the principles of the Revolution, and the other the acquisition of this great territory which has so profoundly affected the American people. These events mark two great epochs in American history, and so intimate is the relationship between them that it can be said that the Louisiana Purchase followed as a necessary result of American Independence.

It is the proud boast of France that "what the ancient regime began in establishing an American independence, the First Consul completed." Thus they would have us believe, as claimed by Thiers in his "History of the Consulate and Empire," that "the United States are indebted for their birth and their greatness to the long struggle between France and England." Whether the political consequences followed might admit of doubt; but the facts of history would seem to bear out the latter statement of the distinguished French historian.

However, we are not so much concerned with the particular influence which brought about these two great events, as with what they represent in the national life of America. The American independence stands for political union, which made the United States a nation. The Revolutionary fathers were resolved to be a free and independent people, and that theirs should be a government of liberty and law under the guidance of a constitution which should declare its powers and limitations. The original idea of popular sovereignty emanated from the banks of the Connecticut, when the distinguished Thomas Hooker announced this doctrine soon after the Connecticut contingent had ended its long and weary march through the wilderness from Massachusetts Bay to that far distant land, the shores of the Connecticut River, which was then supposed to be the extreme western boundary of the continent. It declared that all sovereign power resided in the people. Since then it has been the aim and purpose of the American people to demonstrate that this was not only possible, but also practicable.

Such a sentiment early took root among the colonists, and when the period of the Revolution arrived it had so far advanced as to become a

*An Address by George Williams Bates, Historian-General, at the opening of the National Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, held in Festival Hall, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, June 15, 1904.

reality in the political thought of the day. Independence followed, and the people soon adopted a constitution embodying this sentiment, an instrument which Gladstone said was "the greatest state paper ever penned by the hand of man." (Applause.)

This was political expansion, the essential thought of which was declared when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock and announced to the world that they had come to possess this land. It is said that after the Pilgrims landed,

"They first fell on their knees,

Then they fell on the aborigines." (Laughter.)

Even John Robinson, the pastor of Plymouth Colony, when it was reported to him in Holland that Miles Standish had massacred the savages who had intended to massacre the Pilgrims, is said to have replied that while it was proper to massacre the savages, it was a great misfortune that they had not first been converted. (Laughter and applause.) This seems to have been the policy of the American settler ever since. It was not so much a question as to what should be done with the original occupants of the country as a determination to possess their land, even if it became necessary to massacre them.

Following this line of policy, the American settler crossed the Alleghanies and soon found himself in possession of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the east bank of the Mississippi, but he had no outlet to the sea. Then arose the Louisiana question.

The problem which confronted Jefferson did not so much concern the acquisition of the territory as the manner in which he should deal with it after it had been acquired. He could purchase it, but how to govern it, troubled him. However, it was not for him to delay in securing possession. The great "Westward thrust of the settler folk," spoken of by Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," made it absolutely necessary to get it. Although the matchless foresight of Napoleon anticipated the time when this great western movement would overrun this territory and take it from him, its disposition by him became a matter of prompt action and its sale to the United States followed.

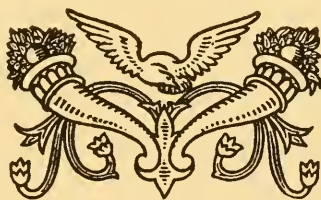
The situation with Jefferson was most critical. What should be the relation of this new country to the states and to the general government? The idea of acquiring foreign territory, inhabited by a strange people, was a novel question. It had never been contemplated by the framers of the constitution and no express provision had been made for such a proceeding. Jefferson was a strict constructionist and he recognized the fact that if this purchase was to be made, the Constitution must be a "closed book" for the day; he must trust the people to ratify his purchase by acquiescence. The results have justified the means, and as the first great impetus to national expansion it made the further expansion of the national domain possible and settled the questions growing out of the acquisition of foreign territory.

Miles Standish was the first great promoter of national expansion, and the policy which he pursued was typical of the spirit of conquest and discovery that characterized the settlement and development of this country.

Standish and Jefferson, each realized the necessities of the situation of his own day and acted accordingly. The result was that Standish prepared the way for the occupancy of this continent by his descendants, while Jefferson solved the question of foreign dominancy on this land, its possession by the United States, and government by strictly constitutional methods. Jefferson had thus a great example in Standish. True, he did not have to fight the savages; but by the peaceful arts of diplomacy, the question of the conquest of a continent and the necessity of dealing with the great Napoleon at a most critical and trying period in the history of the French Empire, was before him. It may have been good fortune that when the United States became forced by the necessities of the case to acquire this great territory, Napoleon was so situated that in conceding this purchase, it was "his poverty, not his will, consented." It may have been the hand of fate which compelled Napoleon to abandon his dream of a colonial French empire in the interior of this continent and forced Jefferson by the purchase to violate the Constitution. But, whatever it was, the great transaction was accomplished and this land was to become, in the language of an eminent Englishman, "the natural basis for the greatest continuous empire established by man." (Applause.)

It foreshadowed the dominancy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, freed us from all foreign complications, and gave rise to the Monroe Doctrine. Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Washington could join hands with Jefferson, Livingston, and Monroe, and say that what had been contemplated in American Independence was consummated in the Louisiana Purchase. Its exploitation has made us what we are to-day. Even though it revolutionized American life and culture, the instant we accepted that great territory, with all its responsibilities and possibilities, we became a world power. (Applause.)

This is the greeting which we bring to this grand exposition, as associating these two great events in American history which have made possible the fulfillment of the glorious destiny of the Republic. (Applause.)



A REVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL WORK OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FOR THE YEAR 1903-1904

WITH REFERENCE TO THE SIEGE OF BOSTON, THE JUMEL MANSION,
AND THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE*

The holding of the Annual Congress of this society at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase is a matter of special interest, because of the intimate relation which that great event bears to the American Revolution and the part it played in the development of the country. As such, it should have appropriate mention in this report.

HISTORICAL WORK OF THE STATE SOCIETIES.

The historical work of the State Societies may be said to embrace two historical fields of labor, one of which covers the celebration of historic days of the Revolution, and the other embracing the erection of tablets and monuments to commemorate particular heroes or events of the Revolution, as well as great events or epochs in the history of the country.

In this respect, we have to report the celebration of the following anniversaries by State Societies:

Maryland Society	Peggy Stewart Day	October 19
Tennessee Society	Battle of King's Mountain	October 19
Hawaiian Society	Battle of Bunker Hill	June 17
Hawaiian Society	122d Anniversary of the Surrender of Yorktown	October 19
Iowa Society	Battle of Lexington	April 19
Empire State Society	Battle of Lexington	April 19
Minnesota Society	Battle of Trenton	December 26
Minnesota Society	Washington's Birthday	February 22
Massachusetts Society	Patriot's Day	April 19
Syracuse Chapter of the Em- pire State Society	Washington's Birthday	February 22
Louisiana Society	Washington's Birthday	February 22
Louisiana Society	Independence Day	July 4
California Society	Lexington Day	April 19
Arizona Society	Battle of Lexington	April 19
Connecticut Society	Battle of Lexington	April 19
Michigan Society	Anniversary of date when American In- dependence was acknowledged by Great Britain and Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, 1782	November 30

*Report of George Williams Bates, Historian-General, to the Annual Congress of the National Society, at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.



BOSTON, WITH ITS ENVIRONS, IN 1775 AND 1776

From Scribner's Popular History of the United States,
Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers

SIEGE OF BOSTON.

The Massachusetts Society unveiled a tablet, October 19, in the Dorchester Old North Burying-ground, in commemoration of the unknown dead who lost their lives during the Siege of Boston. The memorial is a big boulder of Roxbury pudding stone, with a bronze tablet inserted in the rock.

The Siege of Boston marks some of the great events of the Revolution. The Provincial Forces had become the Continental Army with Washington as its commander. Boston had been evacuated by the British, the theatre of war was transferred from New England to the valley of the Hudson, and the American commander made his triumphal entry into Boston. The army around Boston was an object of great interest, as well as curiosity, because of the poverty stricken condition in which it found itself.

On the third of July, 1775, Washington had assumed command of the Continental Army at Cambridge under the celebrated elm tree on the Commons. At once he visited the American posts, reconnoitered those of the enemy, and began to reorganize the army. From Prospect Hill he took a comprehensive view of Boston and Charlestown. At this time, there still remained in Boston six thousand, seven hundred and fifty-three inhabitants. The British army only numbered sixty-five hundred effective, rank and file; while the American army did not have more than fourteen thousand, five hundred fit for duty. General Charles Lee had command of the left wing of the Army, which was stationed near Prospect Hill. The center was stationed near Cambridge, under the command of General Israel Putnam, while General Artemus Ward held the right wing at Roxbury and Dorchester. Every farmer in Worcester and Hampshire, and even in Berkshire, esteemed himself a sort of commissary and the Army was fed without so much as a barrel of flour from the Continental Congress. As a military organization, the American Army was in no condition to make an attack on the city. Still, Washington ordered a heavy cannonade and bombardment of the town for two nights prior to the erection of fortifications on Dorchester Heights. On the fourth of March, 1776, from Cobble Hill (Somerville), from Lechmere's Point (East Cambridge), and from a battery in Roxbury, the firing was renewed with greater vehemence than before, and was returned by the British with great zeal. This was done by Washington to harrass the enemy and divert attention while taking possession of the heights of Dorchester, proceeding to raise the intrenchments of American independence, and opening fire on Boston.

The British beheld with astonishment the fortifications which had sprung up during the night. Although well supplied with provisions and ammunition, while the Americans had a supply scarcely sufficient for a few days, the British were obliged to dislodge the New England farmers, or retreat. An attempt to attack was made by the British, but it was without heart in the enterprise. General Howe decided that resistance would be fruitless and concluded to embark for New York. Washington drew nearer and

nearer to his enemy, soon gained possession of Nook Hill and with it the power of opening the highway from Roxbury to Boston. From every height and every wharf, Howe was observed by the citizens of Boston to be embarking, and as he sailed out of Boston Harbor Washington marched into the town. "And never," says Bancroft in his History of the United States, "was so great a result obtained at so small cost of human life. The putting the British Army to flight was the first decisive victory of the industrious middling class over the most powerful representatives of the mediæval aristocracy; and the whole number of New England men killed in the siege after Washington took the command was less than twenty; the liberation of New England cost all together less than two hundred lives in battle; and the triumphant general, as he looked around, enjoyed the serenest delight, for he saw no mourners among those who greeted his entry after his bloodless victory."

PURCHASE OF THE JUMEL MANSION.

Under the initial leadership of the Empire State Society, Washington's Headquarters in New York City, the famous Morris or Jumel Mansion on One Hundred and Sixty-second Street, was purchased by the city, and the surrounding block converted into a public park. The title to this property passed to the city October 20, 1903.

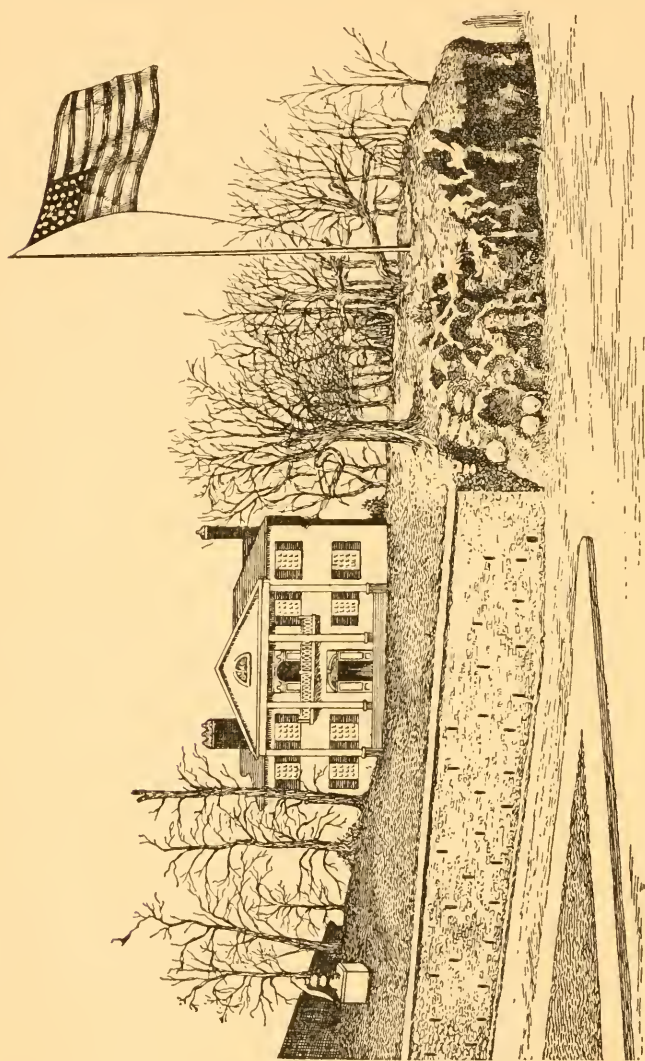
This is an event of great interest.

This house is on Washington Heights, where Washington's headquarters were established, September 15, 1776, and which he quitted just in time to avoid capture, November 16 of the same year, when the mansion and the fortified posts on the upper part of Manhattan Island were captured by the British. The Jumel Mansion deserved preservation as a well built mansion of the Colonial period, as well as for its historical associations. The purpose is to preserve the old Washington headquarters as a museum for Revolutionary relics. This house was begun in 1756 and completed in 1758. It is now nearly one hundred and fifty years old. Its original owner was Roger Morris, a colonel in the British Army, who was associated with Washington under General Braddock in the French and Indian War. Morris was loyal to Great Britain in the War of Independence. He was appointed a member of the King's Council for the Colony of New York, and at the beginning of the Revolution he took his family to a place of greater security, leaving the house in charge of servants. When the Continental Army was being concentrated in New York, early in 1776, Generals Greene, Heath, Putnam and Knox noticed the commanding position of the Morris house and visited it. Washington also visited the place. When it was resolved to make a determined stand to the northward, with a view of keeping the British shut up in New York, Washington chose the Morris house as his headquarters.

From this house, the remarkable "General Orders on the Conduct of the Army" were promulgated. In the spacious council room, now the drawing room, the Stockbridge Indians pledged to Washington their sympathy and friendship. There, too, Washington counselled daily with his staff and

the generals of his army and received prominent patriots of the city and the colonies.

When Howe's Army began working its way towards Washington's rear, the American general left the headquarters in charge of Colonel



THE JUMEL MANSION, WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK CITY

Magaw, to whom he assigned for its defense a force of about twenty-six hundred men. After the battle at White Plains, it was apparent that the fall of the last of the defenses on Manhattan Island was inevitable. When

the battle was imminent, Washington, November 17, 1776, returned to his headquarters with Generals Putnam, Greene, and Mercer, to observe the disposition of the forces; but finding them already engaged by superior numbers, they retired just in time to escape capture. A regiment of Scotch Highlanders crossed the Harlem and scaled the precipitous bluff in face of a galling fire from a company of sharpshooters concealed behind trees and rocks. Ninety of the Highlanders were killed, but the regiment took the Heights and the Morris house. From that day until 1783, the house was the headquarters for the portion of the British Army on the north part of Manhattan Island.

Lord Howe temporarily occupied it and turned it over to Baron Von Knyphausen, the Hessian commander. Thence Colonel Magaw, Captain Graydon, and others were dispatched to the prisons in New York City and the prison ships.

Washington, with Rochambeau, viewed the house through field glasses from the hills across the Harlem in 1781. He visited it on his triumphal re-entrance into the city in 1783, and again as President of the United States on July 10, 1790, on which occasion he dined there with Vice-President John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox. During this last visit, Washington is said to have planted the seed from which the thirteen ears of corn, said to have hung on the wall during the last one hundred and thirteen years, were grown.

In 1810, Stephen Jumel, an exile planter from San Domingo, and then one of the wealthy merchants of New York, bought the property. In 1815, Stephen Jumel planted a large number of cypress trees from the garden of the Tuilleries, where Napoleon had placed them when they were given to him by the Khedive of Egypt. Fourteen are still growing along the east side of St. Nicholas Avenue, north of One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Street.

In 1832, Stephen Jumel was thrown from a carriage and killed. The house had been given to Madame Jumel in 1815 and was hers at the time of his death. On July 3, 1833, the widow was married to Aaron Burr in the reception room of her mansion. She died in 1835.

The house is built of heavy timber, lined with brick brought from Holland. There has never been a change in the exterior, and the changes in the interior had been few and wholly in harmony with the architecture, aside from the papering of the walls. The paper in the room used as a billiard room by General Earle, who owned and occupied it prior to his death, is said to be the first ever imported into New York. The ears of corn, said to have been in the same place on the wall since 1790, were evidently placed there after the wall was papered.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The period of the Revolution closed in 1783, when England recognized the independence of the United States, which had become a political body under the form of a confederacy but with no well defined powers of government. The adoption of the Constitution, in 1789, made the people of the United States a nation. The thirteen colonies had become thirteen

states and occupied practically the Atlantic seaboard. It is quite evident that the framers of the Constitution never contemplated or provided for any extension of the national domain.

It was insisted that there was no express provision in the Constitution which permitted either the acquisition of foreign territory or the introduction of a strange people into the body politic, and that neither could be accomplished except by the unanimous consent of the several states of the Union. The unchangeable provisions of the Constitution might limit the powers of government, but the American settler was an irresistible force which it was impossible either to restrict or restrain. To him there was no such thing as State lines, and immediately after the close of the Revolution he made the first settlements in Ohio, at Marietta, and his fellow passengers on the Mayflower were the original settlers of the great Northwest. The Alleghanies had now ceased to be the extreme western boundary of the United States, and it was not long before Kentucky and Tennessee became large and vigorous settlements. The one great object of existence was to possess the "Father of Waters," that it might run "unvexed" to the sea. The Mississippi River was then in the possession of a foreign power, which sought to restrain and impoverish the American settlers by prohibiting the free navigation of the river, but the "westward thrust of the settler folk," as Roosevelt puts it in his "Winning of the West," could not be impeded on its march to the Gulf.

The Louisiana Purchase now became of the greatest importance. This event is said to have been the result of three long-continued forces in American history, viz., the advance of the pioneers towards the west; the diplomatic struggle between France, Spain, England, and the United States for the possession of the Mississippi Valley; and the rivalry of those powers over the disintegrating empire which Spain had reared in the new world. But whatever the force which produced this result, it is true that when one considers the magnitude and sweep of the American settlements which were rapidly forming in the West, as it is said, it cannot be denied that whatever nation might temporarily control the Mississippi River, it was bound to happen that this vast interior of the continent would eventually come under the government of the American people. This contest for the Louisiana territory really involved a contest not only for the whole Mississippi Valley but in fact for ascendancy in the Western Hemisphere.

FRANCE, SPAIN, AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

The period from 1763, when France withdrew from America, to 1803, the date of the cession of Louisiana, was marked by the most momentous issues. Spain had acquired Louisiana from France in 1763. On the Declaration of Independence, France procured the assistance of Spain and joined forces with the Americans to make the United States the dominant force in America. Spain had hoped to restrain the United States to the Alleghanies, and had also desired to exercise a protectorate over the Indians and exclude the United States from the Mississippi. But the Treaty of Paris, in 1783, granted our demands for a boundary on the

Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the Thirty-first degree, and the St. Mary's River. This also included the navigation of the Mississippi.

Spain repudiated England's right to yield to us territory of which she herself was in military possession, and actually refused to open the navigation of the Mississippi as she thought it to be the key to her monopoly of Spanish America. Even England refused to evacuate the territory between the Ohio, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi.

Immediately after the Revolution, a large number of American settlers found their way to the Ohio and made a settlement between the two great Indian confederacies on the north and south, each of which was dominated by rival European nations, both anxious to check the advance of the United States. England was quite sure that the loose confederation would break asunder, but she could not chasten the Indians, protect the western settlers, nor secure our claims to the navigation of the Mississippi. This created a situation which was intolerable to the "Men of the Western Waters." The settlers came near rising in insurrection. The result of the French Revolution broke the family compact which bound England and Spain together, and came near ending in a war between these countries which might have enabled England to supersede Spain in the control of the Mississippi, also to win the support of the western settlers by the offer of free navigation and to organize a revolt of Spanish America. This would have broken the Spanish monopoly and opened this vast region to England's commerce.

In 1790, Miranda, the celebrated Venezuelan revolutionist, proposed to Pitt that England should bring about the formation of an independent Spanish America, to include all of Spanish America, except Brazil and Guiana, together with Central America, Mexico, Cuba, and Louisiana.

Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State under Washington, saw clearly the danger to the future of the United States. It being apparent to him that with England's possession of Canada, Louisiana and Florida on the one side, and her fleet on the other, she would soon find means to unite to them all the territory covered by the ramifications of the Mississippi. He instructed our representative to point out to Spain that her best policy would be to cede Florida to us and yield the navigation of the Mississippi, on the condition that we should guarantee her territory west of that river. Washington had not the military strength to prevent England's military expedition by arms; but fortunately the crisis passed, because France refused to recognize the family compact and Spain thus isolated was obliged to make terms of peace.

FRENCH DESIGNS ON LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA.

In 1792, France had designs, influenced by Miranda, to win back her own American provinces at the expense of the Spanish Empire in America. Genet was sent to America to secure a treaty of alliance, the object of which was to secure the territory of Louisiana and Florida and the conquest of Canada; and, failing to secure this, to start up a revolution in Louisiana and the other provinces adjoining the United States. But he found Washington firm in his policy of neutrality. Then he pro-

ceeded to organize an army in the Carolinas and Georgia, and even authorized the famous George Rogers Clark to form an army, descend the Mississippi under the French flag, and capture New Orleans.

Fortunately, the Reign of Terror in France put a stop to these undertakings; although it can be said that but for the "cold neutrality" of Washington, the West under the banner of France might have been carried into a crusade against Spanish America that would have changed the whole current of the history of the United States.

FRANCE SCHEMES TO GET SPANISH TERRITORY.

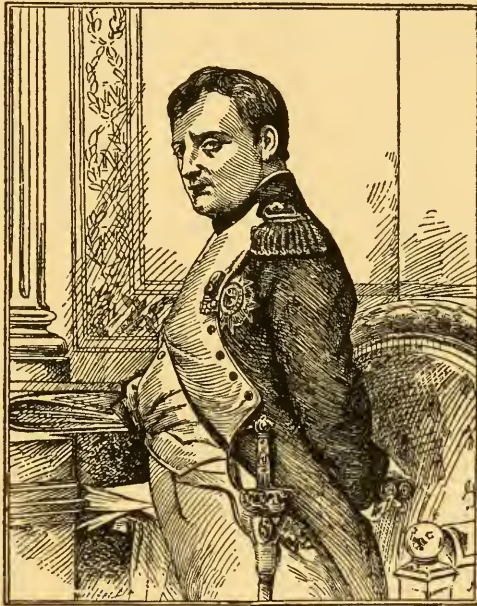
The Jay Treaty of 1795 made a marked change in the relation of the United States to this western question. It put an end to England's influence over the Indians north of the Ohio and relieved us from the pressure of a foreign power to the north of the United States. Spain became apprehensive that the treaty might mean a joint attack by England and the United States on her southwestern possessions and as a consequence yielded our boundaries and free navigation. This was a hard blow to France, as she had vainly demanded Louisiana for herself in the treaty of Basle which closed her war with Spain, in 1795. But she was determined to dominate the foreign affairs of Spain and to acquire large sections of American territory. In 1796, she instructed her minister to Spain to ask for the relinquishment of Louisiana and the Floridas, as a means of protecting the rest of Spanish America; and while Spain did not accede to these demands, she was induced by France to continue to hold possession of the posts on the east bank of the Mississippi River, under the expectation of a possible attack by England and the United States. The plot, however, was discovered and the whole scheme failed through the refusal of Godoy, the prime minister, to play the part of a tool for the ambitious designs of France.

In 1798, France proposed to Spain that the Papal Legations, together with the Duchy of Parma, should be made a principality for the son-in-law of the King of Spain if Louisiana should be relinquished to France. Tallyrand had hoped by this means to acquire Louisiana in order to revive France's Colonial policy, as he believed that Spanish America could be protected and vast territories opened for colonization, and that Louisiana could be made the granary for her important Colonial possessions in the West Indies. Again he urged upon Spain to relinquish Louisiana and Florida, under the assurance that he would make them "a wall of brass forever impenetrable to the combined efforts of England and America."

But the growing military greatness of France aroused both England and America; and while actual hostilities were provoked between the United States and France on the sea, the matter was taken up by William Pitt, then prime minister, to extend English influence in Spanish America. It was even proposed by him, in February, 1798, that unless Spain could prevent a revolution and save herself from the domination of France, England would join the United States to free Spanish America. Alexander Hamilton expected to receive command of the United States forces, if hostilities actually broke out, and would have thus become the Wash-

ington of Spanish America. Fortunately, John Adams, then President, absolutely declined to take any part in the undertaking; and, in 1800, he procured a termination of the hostilities between this country and France.

The tremendous figure of Napoleon now appeared upon the scene. On September, 1800, he made a treaty with this country, and on the next day Spain retroceded Louisiana to France. Napoleon had promised her never to alienate the province; but after making a preliminary treaty with England in October, 1801, he set out on the accomplishment of his great purpose to establish a Colonial Empire in the interior of this continent,



NAPOLÉON AS FIRST CONSUL

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For this purpose, he sent forward a large army to occupy San Domingo, then in a state of insurrection under that wonderful negro, Toussaint L'Ouverture, as a part of the general scheme for the formation of such an empire which might ultimately exercise a dominant force in western America.

JEFFERSON'S ENGLISH ALLIANCE.

Jefferson now became alarmed at the prospect of French ascendancy in the interior of this continent, and in the spring of 1802, wrote Livingston, our minister to France, that "the day that France takes possession of

New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we marry ourselves to the British fleet and navy."

His only desire was the cession of New Orleans, or at least West Florida, as a means of securing free transit of the Mississippi. He had no particular interest in the territory west of the river. It is said that if Napoleon had been able to throw a large army into New Orleans, Jefferson might not have resisted this occupation, and the whole future of the Mississippi would have been in question. But with the destruction of the French Army in San Domingo by war and pestilence, Napoleon had no longer any desire to carry out his gigantic designs for a Colonial Empire.

The Federalists now demanded war with France and Spain. But Jefferson sought to allay the military spirit thus aroused among the people, and sent Monroe, March 2, 1802, to Paris on a special mission to secure one of three alternatives.



ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, STATESMAN

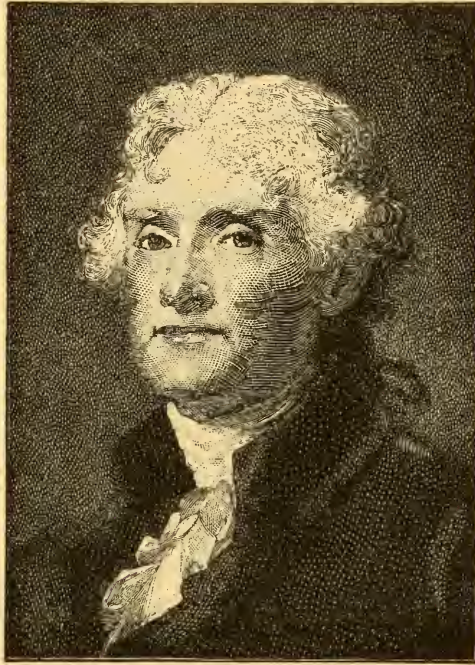
From Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History

First, he was to purchase New Orleans and the Floridas; second, if necessary, he might guarantee to France her possessions beyond the Mississippi; third, if France refused to cede New Orleans, he was to make an effort to secure space enough for a large commercial town near the mouth of the Mississippi, together with provision for a complete right of deposit. Jefferson would thus have been willing to accept the right of navigation rather than make the Louisiana purchase an immediate cause of war; but if France compelled hostilities by closing the Mississippi, he was to ask an alliance with England.

NAPOLÉON GIVES UP LOUISIANA.

The speedy prospects of a war with England made Napoleon reveal his plans to relinquish Louisiana. He now foresaw the impossibility of holding the territory if England and the United States combined against him

to take this country. At least, he thought the result of a war with England would be the loss of Louisiana; while, on the other hand, if he could cement the friendship of the United States by the sale of the Province, he would deprive England of a strong ally and enrich his treasury with funds for his approaching operations. Thus, the vision of a great colonial Empire in America gave place in his mind to new European projects. Whatever the consideration by which he was swayed, it is the fact that it was due to the determination of this "Titan of the Revolution-



THOMAS JEFFERSON

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ary Era" that Louisiana and the preponderance in the Western Hemisphere passed to the United States without a struggle.

Tallyrand immediately took up the matter of sale with Livingston and asked him what he would give for all of Louisiana, while Livingston only asked for a little strip at the mouth of the river. Few at that time realized the vastness of this region. Livingston certainly had no adequate conception of its importance. He even denied any interest in the trans-Mississippi country. Napoleon's brothers vainly struggled to prevent him from making his arbitrary cession of Louisiana; but Napoleon was the

dictator of France and on April 30, 1803, the United States secured Louisiana for fifteen millions of dollars. "In Bonaparte we had no friend," says Sloane in his "World Aspects of the Louisiana Purchase," "but what the ancient régime began in establishing an American independence, the First Consul completed; for, thanks to him, we fought the War of 1812 for commercial liberty, while the exploitation of Louisiana has made us what we are."

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RESULTS OF THE PURCHASE.

No event in the history of this country, it is said, has had greater political and constitutional effects than this purchase. The change in American life and comfort was simply revolutionary. The question as to what should be the construction of the Constitution was of the most vital character. It strengthened the loose interpretation of its provisions, notwithstanding the fact that Thomas Jefferson, a strict constructionist, was a most stringent advocate of States' Rights and was even the author of the Kentucky Resolutions. He believed that the purchase was unwarranted by the Constitution and that to carry out the terms of the Treaty would do to "make blank paper of the Constitution by construction." He wanted a constitutional amendment to validate his action. But his friends among the strict constructionists and the States' Rights sect insisted that the acquisition and incorporation of the territory was constitutional, as embraced within the treaty-making power of Congress. Mr. Justice Cooley, in his "Acquisition of Louisiana," says that "from a party standpoint, it was no mistake whatever, but a bold measure of wise policy."

The splendid opportunities which this offered for promoting the peace of North America, at the same time furnishing the broad foundation of a great democracy, quite overpowered his doctrinaire ideas, practical statesman that he was. He believed that this case was an exceptional one, and that the evil of construction would be corrected by the good sense of the country. Nevertheless, it amounted to a practical surrender of the doctrine "that popular acquiescence might take the place of a constitutional amendment;" although it might operate to double the area of the Union and change the whole physio-graphic basis of the Nation. This broad interpretation of the treaty-making power of Congress itself paved the way for an imperial expansion of the United States, and at the same time it laid the foundation for a readjustment of sectional power within the Union.

The Treaty provided that the inhabitants of Louisiana should be incorporated into the Union and admitted according to the principles of the Federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. It was not to be governed permanently as a colonial dependency by a partnership of sovereign States; but the partnership was to be enlarged by the action of the President and twenty-six members of the Senate. New England insisted that it could only be done by the assent of each individual State, which was required to admit a new partner. It was also seen that New England would be ultimately swamped by the votes of the representatives from the west and south. Against the

proposed arrangement, vehement protests were made and some of the States even began to threaten secession.

It did not matter that Jefferson made himself a monarch of the new territory and wielded over it, against its protest, the power of a king, so long as it was for the welfare of the country that he should do so. "The hopes of humanity" says Adams, in his *History of the United States*, "lay thenceforward, not in attempting to restrain the government from doing whatever the majority should think necessary, but in raising the people themselves till they should think nothing necessary but what is good."

It is almost impossible to overestimate the importance of the issues thus raised as to whether this territory was to be ruled as an imperial possession or to be absorbed into the Union, thereby overturning the old balance of sections and destroying the safeguards of State sovereignty. Jefferson justified the admission of French and Spanish ships in the port of New Orleans on equal terms with those owned by Americans, on the ground that Louisiana was "territory purchased by the United States in their federate capacity, and may be disposed of by them at pleasure. It is in the nature of a colony, whose commerce may be regulated without any reference to the Constitution."

What was then an open question as to the power of the United States to acquire foreign territory and to govern the inhabitants of the same, is now settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. This question came before that court for the first time, in 1828, in the case of *The American Insurance Co. vs. Canter*, 1 Peters, 512. It concerned the existence of a territorial court in Florida, which had assumed to deal with certain property involved in that case. The real question was the relation in which Florida, then a territory, stood to the United States, thus necessarily involving the rights of the inhabitants of the territory under the Constitution. In that case was rendered the celebrated opinion of Chief Justice Marshall, which settled, as the law of the land, the authority and power of the United States to acquire foreign territory and to deal with its inhabitants according to the terms of the treaty under which such territory was acquired, as the Congress of the United States might decide. It was held, that the Constitution conferred absolutely on the government of the Union the power of declaring war and of making treaties; consequently, the government possesses the power to acquire territory, either by conquest or by treaty.

The usage of the world, continues the Court, is, if a nation be not entirely subdued, to consider the holding of conquered territory as merely military occupation until its fate shall be determined at the treaty of peace. If it be ceded by the treaty, the acquisition is confirmed and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession, or on such as its new master shall impose. On such transfer of territory, it has never been held that the relations of the inhabitants with each other undergo any change. Their relations with their foreign sovereign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired

their territory. The same act which transfers their country transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it; and the law which may be denominated political is necessarily changed, although that which regulates the intercourse and general conduct of individuals remains in force until altered by the newly created power of the State.

This was afterwards reaffirmed in a number of cases. Among others, the following may be mentioned: *Mormon Church vs. United States*, 136 U. S., 42; *United States vs. Huckabee*, 16 Wall., 414, 434; *Jones vs. United States*, 137 U. S., 202, 212; *Shiveley vs. Bowlby*, 152 U. S., 1, 50; *Legal Tender cases*, 12 Wall., 554.

This point was also raised in the celebrated *Insular cases*, which determined the question as to whether Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands were such a part of the United States, when acquired in the Spanish-American War and under treaty with Spain, as to forbid, in the tariff regulations affecting those islands, any discrimination in favor of the inhabitants of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States again affirmed the rule of law as laid down in *American Insurance Co. vs. Canter*, and declared the power of Congress to deal with such acquired territory to be absolute.

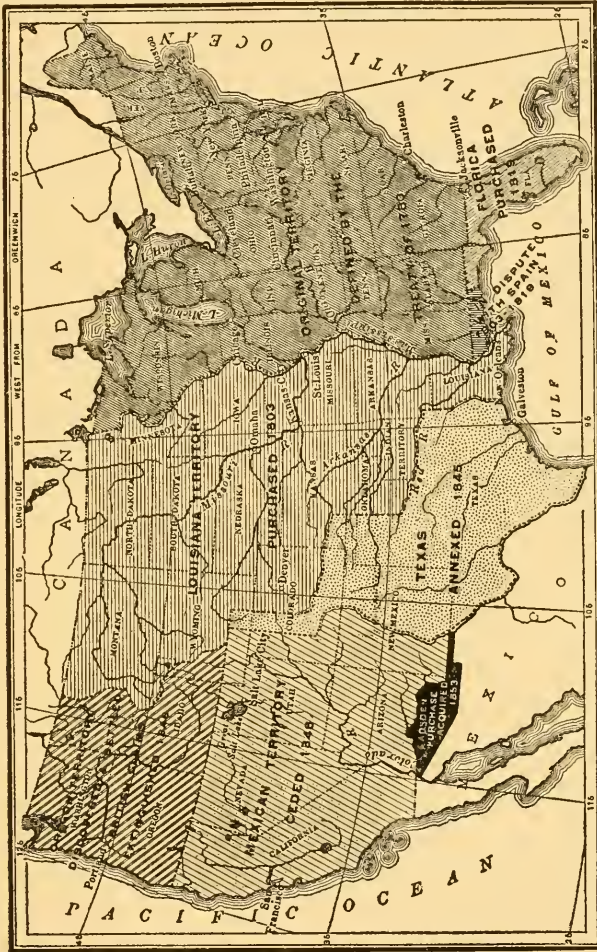
Thus, what Jefferson assumed to do without constitutional authority, except by implication, has now become the law of the land. No event has so enlarged the provisions of the Constitution, as that involved in the Louisiana Purchase. "When the whole sweep of American history," says Turner in "The Significance of the Louisiana Purchase," "and the present tendencies of our life are taken into view, it would be possible to argue that the doctrines involved in this purchase were farther reaching in their effect upon the Constitution than even the measures of Alexander Hamilton or the decisions of John Marshall."

A glance at the map also shows how it completely changed the conception of statehood. The old idea could no longer exist when the result of the Louisiana Purchase became manifest. Many volumes have been written on the romance of the Louisiana Purchase. Josiah Quincy threatened the dismemberment of the Union, when Louisiana was admitted, in 1812: Great Britain coveted it, in 1815, when Jackson saved it: Aaron Burr probably coveted an empire within it: Napoleon III. had dreams of its return to the new France he was to found in Mexico. It furnished the issues that resulted in the Civil War. There was the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas and Nebraska Act, and the civil war in Kansas, which combined to make up the prelude to the Civil War. Here was the struggle between the rival institutions and political ideals of the North and South for the domination of this vast territory.

PREDOMINANCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

From this time dates the end of the struggle for the possession of the Mississippi Valley and the ascendancy of the United States in both Americas. Even the British, in the War of 1812, failed to wrest New Orleans from Andrew Jackson. The acquisition of Florida, Texas, California, and the possessions secured in the Spanish-American War, are in fact corollar-

ies of this great event. England, France, and Spain were prevented from occupying the controlling position in determining the destiny of the American provinces, which soon revolted from the empire of Spain. The Monroe Doctrine was made possible by it. "Having thus taken her stride across the Mississippi," continues Turner, "The United States enlarged



MAP SHOWING THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THIS CONTINENT, OMITTING ALASKA

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the horizon of her views and moved steadily forward to the possession of the Pacific Ocean. From this event, dated the rise of the United States into the position of a world power."

We thus acquired a territory nearly double the area of the United States, and equal to the combined area of Great Britain, Germany, France,

Spain, Portugal, and Italy. It embraces fourteen commonwealths. Its population now numbers fifteen million people, and a taxable worth of seven billions occupies its soil. In fifty years, at the present rate of settlement, these fourteen commonwealths will contain about one-third of the power of the Union. It has thus revolutionized our national outlook, our constitutional attitude, and our sectional control. It has equally as radically changed our national texture. We have called to the masses of Europe for help to develop the wilderness. They have come by millions, until now the men and women of the revolutionary stock probably number less than fifteen millions in the entire country. These later Americans made the Union as it now is, and there is no question that their blood flowed as freely as ours in defense of it. It is they who have kept us from developing on Colonial lines and have made us a nation separate and apart. This it is that has prevented the powerful influence of Great Britain from inundating us, while simultaneously two English-speaking peoples have reacted, the one upon the other, in their racial differences, to keep aflame the zeal for enterprise, beneficent occupation, and general exploitation of the globe in the interest of a high civilization.

The lesson of the Louisiana Purchase is, that as an evolution in the development of this country, it was a triumph for the whole people. In the language of George William Curtis, at the celebration of the Battle of Saratoga, let us say:

"Here was the symbol of the Revolution, a common cause, a common strife, a common triumph; the cause not of class, but of human nature—the triumph not of a colony, but of United America."



